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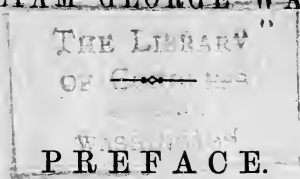
Wm. H. Miller review
July 1867

[For convenience of reference, we have thought it well to append to our present number the Letter of Dr. Ward to Father Ryder, of the Birmingham Oratory, on the Infallibility of the Church, lately published in pamphlet form by Messrs. Burns & Oates.]

A LETTER TO THE REV. FATHER RYDER ON HIS RECENT PAMPHLET.

BY WILLIAM GEORGE WARD, D.PH.

17



SEVERAL persons may have read F. Ryder's pamphlet, and may be thus induced to look at this reply, who have not given any careful attention to that volume of mine which F. Ryder criticises. For the sake of such persons it may be useful to state methodically, though as briefly as I can, the points both of agreement and of difference between him and myself. Of course, since we both are Catholics, the former very greatly preponderate over the latter; and with them I will begin. The four following propositions then are necessarily common ground between him and me. Taken together, they constitute what I may call the ecclesiastical foundation of Catholicism; and all Catholics agree with each other, while they differ from all non-Catholics, in adhering most firmly to this foundation.

1. The Apostles left behind them a priceless treasure to the Church's infallible keeping; viz., that large

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body of dogma, with which their own minds had been profoundly imbued through the teaching of Christ and the inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

2. The Church—the Ecclesia Docens—to whose care this trust has been committed, and which is gifted therefore with infallibility in the office of fulfilling it, is the Catholic Episcopate, acting in union with, and in subordination to, S. Peter's See.

3. Consequently, when the Supreme Pontiff and the Catholic bishops, acting in union, put forth a *definition of faith*—in other words, when they unite in declaring that a certain doctrine is part of the Catholic Faith, and that its contradictory is therefore heretical,—such definitions are infallible.

4. Any one who interiorly dissents from the definitions thus put forth, is (materially at least) a heretic, and is external to the Visible Church.

Such, I say, is the foundation to which all Catholics firmly adhere; and to which all who do adhere are Catholics. There are various matters however, connected with this foundation, on which no such unanimity prevails among the children of the Church. These regard respectively (1) “the subject,” and (2) “the object” of infallibility. Let me first then explain these expressions. When we are considering the former, we are considering who *possesses* infallibility; when we are considering the latter, we are considering *over what objects* infallibility extends. And now let me consider these two questions separately.

As regards the “subject” of infallibility, I am most happy to say that F. Ryder and myself are thoroughly in accordance. Certain theologians, who are called Gallican, maintain that the Pope is not infallible, even when he speaks *ex cathedrâ*; that the voice of infallibility has not been raised, until his judgment has been confirmed by that of the Episcopate. But those theologians are by far the more numerous and the more approved, who consider that no such confirmation is needed; and that whenever the Pope speaks as Uni-

versal Teacher, his declarations are infallible. It is a most happy and promising circumstance of the present day, that Gallicanism is almost extinct; and I find with great gratification that F. Ryder has no more sympathy with it than I have myself.

My controversy with him then concerns exclusively the "object" of infallibility. Before mentioning, however, the exact points on which our present discussion turns, I must speak of a minor matter which has some little bearing on those points.

It is very far more common, at least with modern theologians, to use the phrase "the Deposit of Faith," or simply "the Deposit," as expressing that body of dogma which was actually taught by the Apostles to the Church.* I shall myself, in what follows, invariably take it in this sense. F. Ryder however uses the phrase to express, not those doctrines alone which the Apostles actually taught, but those also which *follow* from the former by strictly necessary *consequence*. He considers, accordingly, unless I misunderstand him, that the Church may define as *of faith*—in such sense therefore as to pronounce the contradictory tenet *heretical*—a doctrine which the Apostles did not actually teach, but which follows by strict logical consequence from what they did teach. He has undoubtedly much support for this view in earlier theologians; and though I do not myself concur in it, I know of no reason for thinking the question otherwise than open. I said a few words on it last October (p. 462).

This being understood, the matter directly at issue between him and myself may be thus explained, with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. He considers the Church to be infallible, *only so far as she testifies to the Deposit*, in that wider sense in which he uses this

* I may be allowed here to refer my readers to a passage in the DUBLIN REVIEW of last October, pp. 468-9, where I have expressed, as well as I could, what seem to me the various ways in which the Apostles communicated doctrine to the Church.

latter term. In other words, he considers that she puts forth no infallible decisions, excepting (1) her definitions of faith, and (2) a certain other class which I shall presently mention. For my part I maintain against him, as certain and undeniable, that the Church distinctly claims for herself a far wider infallibility than this. And to explain my meaning, I must make an introductory remark.

It is very evident, and is admitted by all, that there is a vast number of propositions, which are not on the one hand integral portions of the Deposit, nor yet, on the other hand, directly contradictory to it; but which nevertheless have with it a very intimate connection. Nor are these propositions at all exclusively theological. There are very many opinions on secular matters, which bear very importantly upon religion, in the sphere, *e.g.*, of philosophy, of experimental science, of literature, of history. As Archbishop Manning points out, "the revelation of supernatural truth is *in contact with* natural ethics, and politics, and philosophy;" so that a vast number of propositions, in these regions of thought, may in many different ways be very injurious to the Deposit. Further it is admitted by all, that the Church is in the constant habit of animadverting on these various anti-Catholic propositions; both on those which are theological, and no less on those which in themselves are secular. Father Ryder however denies, while I maintain, that the Church is *infallible* in these animadversions; and further, that she herself teaches her own possession of that infallibility.

The animadversions of which I speak assume two different shapes; and with these respectively correspond the two several points, discussed between F. Ryder and myself.

(1.) Very frequently the Church expresses in precise and accurate form, various tenets which she censures as "erroneous," "temerarious," "dangerous to faith," and the like; not unfrequently again she contents herself, as in the recent Syllabus, with condemning

them, without branding on them any *particular* censure. My own contention is—as will be evident from what I have above said—that she is infallible in all these minor censures. F. Ryder on the other hand, consistently with *his* principles, draws a distinction. The term “erroneous” is universally understood to signify that the tenet thus censured leads, *by necessary consequence*, to a denial of something which the Apostles taught. F. Ryder therefore considers the Church infallible in this particular censure; because he looks on an “erroneous” proposition as actually contradicting a portion of the Deposit. As regards, however, censures less serious than this, he denies the Church’s infallibility. He admits readily that there is a high probability of her being right; that it would be very dangerous to hold with confidence any proposition which she has censured; and the like: but he contends that no such absolute and unreserved submission of mind is due from Catholics to these censures, as would be required by a judgment strictly infallible.

(2.) Another way in which the Holy Father very frequently pronounces on those *anti-Catholic opinions* which are not *heresies*, is by way of Allocution, Encyclical, or other similar Act. Here, again, F. Ryder denies, and I maintain—not, of course, that the various *arguments* and *obiter dicta* found in such utterances are infallible—but that the *doctrinal instructions* conveyed in them possess that privilege. F. Ryder willingly admits that a Catholic should listen to such instructions with respect and docility; that they are in a special manner under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and the like: but he joins issue on the question of their actual infallibility.

These, then, are the only two points, so far as I can see, at issue between us: (1) the Church’s minor censures; and (2) the doctrinal instruction contained in such Pontifical Acts as Allocutions and Encyclicals. Not only do I maintain that these are infallible, but I cannot for one moment admit that the question is

obscure or uncertain. In regard, indeed, to minor censures, how any Catholic can possibly doubt the Church's infallibility in pronouncing them—especially considering all the circumstances connected with the Bull “Unigenitus”—I find it difficult even to guess. But even as to the *second* point of controversy between F. Ryder and myself, I contend that whoever will fairly confront the evidence which I have brought together, will find it impossible to doubt, that I do but ascribe to the Church that infallibility, which she herself distinctly claims. The evidence completely overcame my own mind; and I believe that neither F. Ryder nor any other Catholic is much less disposed to believe the infallibility of Allocutions and Encyclicals, than I was myself during many years of my Catholic life.

Further it will be plain to all, I think, that the issue cannot possibly be considered as one of small importance. If God have indeed granted the Church so large a gift of infallibility, He has not done so for any small or insignificant end; and those, therefore, who represent the gift of infallibility as far smaller in extent than it really is, must be in fact, however unintentionally, inflicting a grievous wound on the interests of Truth. This anticipation moreover, I would earnestly contend, is abundantly borne out by reason and experience. But it is quite impossible to treat this latter theme at all, without entering on it at length; and for entering on it at length this is not the appropriate occasion. It is a matter which will, I hope, be brought again and again before the notice of Catholics in the pages of the DUBLIN REVIEW.

I will also say briefly, but have no space for enlarging on this pregnant consideration, that the moral habit of mind which must in the long run be generated, by denying infallible authority to any portion of the Church's teaching, is another reason for earnestly vindicating its claim to that authority. A Catholic's whole attitude towards the Church is profoundly affected by the alternative.

I will conclude this Preface with one explanation, which is imperatively required. In the following letter I more than once call the controversy between F. Ryder and myself "momentous" and "vital"; but it may well be asked how I can thus speak, considering that my opponent is a Catholic priest, and considering that I fully admit him to be in real truth a brother in the Faith. I think my meaning may be made very clear, by help of the trite illustration derived from a citadel and its outworks. Let me put it thus :

A zealous army is defending a beleaguered fortress. There are various outworks, most essential to the safety of the citadel; and our commander has given us strict orders to defend them securely at whatever risk. Certain soldiers, however, have either not listened to his instruction or have misapprehended it; and we see them preparing to surrender these various external positions. We cry out to them in distress and amazement, that they are disobeying our commander, and are doing our cause an irreparable injury. And yet our feeling towards them is quite different *in kind*, from our feeling towards the enemy who is assaulting our stronghold itself. Nor need there be reason to doubt, that these eccentric and ill-disciplined combatants are as zealous as we are for the security of the fortress; and would feel it to be their highest privilege, had they the opportunity of laying down their lives in its defence.

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LETTER TO REV. FATHER RYDER

BY DR. WARD.

REV. DEAR SIR,—

You have published a criticism of certain theological views which I advocate concerning the extent of the Church's infallibility;* and there is one point, at least, on which we thoroughly agree, viz., the momentousness of the point at issue. As regards, indeed, many of those matters which at this time excite the widest interest in the Church, you will concur with me, that a Catholic's whole course of thought and speech must be at every moment fundamentally affected, by the doctrine he may hold on this particular subject.

I will frankly avow however my regret, at the space you have devoted to an analysis of my supposed intellectual peculiarities; your very title, your very motto refer to these. In all this I have not observed one trace of unkindness or bitterness; nor do I think you have at all exceeded the legitimate bounds of public criticism: still less do I dream of attributing to you any "intentional discourtesy" (Preface). Yet I do greatly regret, that a momentous theological discussion has not been conducted exclusively on purely theological and philosophical grounds. My intellectual characteristics, whatever they may be, have really nothing to do with the question. To read your pages, one would imagine that I had been inventing some extreme and unheard of theory; whereas I must maintain that I have done nothing else than follow in the wake of all approved theologians, without exception. And though you do not agree with me in the whole of this statement, you cannot yourself deny that a large number

* "Idealism in Theology, a Review of Dr. Ward's Scheme of Dogmatic Authority:" by H. A. D. Ryder, of the Oratory. London: Longman.

of living writers say all that I say. Our Archbishop, *e. g.*, expresses in so many words that opinion of mine, which you consider my chief theological offence.* Dr. Murray's "theory," again, you admit (p. 45) "approaches as closely as may be to Dr. Ward's." Now Dr. Murray is a dogmatical Professor at Maynooth; and I can mention as a fact, that Dr. Murray's volumes were most carefully examined and most unreservedly approved, by several very eminent theologians at Rome. Then you cannot read the "*De Unitate Romanâ*" of F. Schrader, S.J., theological professor in Vienna, and entertain the slightest doubt that his views are precisely the same. (See DUBLIN REVIEW for April, 1867, pp. 496-500.) Again, a series of papers is coming out by Jesuit Fathers (Freiburg) on the Encyclical and Syllabus: F. Riess has written the first of these, which is on the authority due to such pronouncements; and he maintains their simple infallibility. Lastly, you know as well as I do, that the very same principles animate throughout that admirable periodical the *Civiltà Cattolica*, which was honoured by the Holy Father with that singular mark of approbation, the Brief which my readers will find in the DUBLIN REVIEW for July, 1866, pp. 229-233. You cannot consider that all these distinguished persons—Archbishop Manning, Dr. Murray, F. Schrader, F. Riess, the *Civiltà* Jesuits—share with me those singular eccentricities, which you regard as my characteristics: and whatever these eccentricities therefore may be, they had better be put out of sight in the present discussion. All this part of your pamphlet I can call by no

* For instance, in his work, "The Temporal Mission of the Holy Ghost," p. 83:—"The infallibility of the head of the Church extends to the whole matter of revelation; that is, to the divine truth and the divine law, and to all those facts or truths which are in contact with faith and morals. The definitions of the Church include truths of the natural order, and the revelation of supernatural truth is in contact with natural ethics, politics, and philosophy. The doctrines of the Consubstantiality of the Son, of Transubstantiation, and of the Constitution of Humanity, touch upon truths of philosophy and of the natural order; but being in contact with the faith, they fall within the infallibility of the Church. So again the judgments of Pontiffs in matters which affect the welfare of the whole Church, such as the condemnation of propositions. In all declarations that such propositions are, the case may be, heretical or savouring of heresy, or erroneous, or scandalous, or offensive to pious ears, and the like, the assistance of the Holy Spirit certainly preserves the Pontiffs from error, and *such judgments are infallible, and demand interior assent from all.*" Again: "All I can do is to state in what terms those whom I am used to deal with express themselves . . . to the definitions and decrees of Pontiffs speaking *ex cathedra* . . . to the whole Church, *whether by Bull, or Apostolical Letters, or Encyclical, or Brief, to many or to one person, undoubtedly . . . are infallible.*"—*'England and Christendom,'* Introduction, p. lxxix.

other name than that of irrelevant personality. Your wish, no less than mine, must be that the attention of thoughtful Catholics shall be concentrated, on the vitally important theological argument between us.

However, these criticisms of my intellectual character have led you to make one statement, referring to a matter not of opinion but of fact. On this statement I will at once comment, because it may in some degree affect the judgment of many readers on the point at issue. You consider that I ascribe to the Church a certain infallibility—not because she most unmistakably *claims* that infallibility (which is my real reason), but on grounds purely *à priori*; in order that she may “meet all the requirements of my ideal” (p. 12). Now there cannot be a more fundamental misapprehension than this, of the process which in fact led me to my conclusions. And as your view of my mental history would lead to a just prejudice against those conclusions themselves, I trust I shall not be charged with egotism, if I obtrude a little scrap of autobiography.

Certainly at no period of my Catholic life have I doubted, that the Church is as simply infallible in pronouncing minor censures, as in pronouncing that of heresy; and I am more amazed than I can well express (for reasons presently to be given) that you or any other Catholic can possibly question this. But as to Encyclicals and other similar Pontifical pronouncements, for many years after my conversion I held no other view concerning their authority, than that which I express (not of course as now my own) in p. 44 of the work which you criticise; and which does not differ essentially from yours (p. 18). I had not derived this view from any standard Catholic authority; for no such authority that I know of can be found to sanction it: I had imbibed it (I believe) from a certain living influence, to which, when I was first a Catholic, I surrendered myself without reserve. As long as I was teaching at St. Edmund's, I was occupied with theology proper, on which this particular class of Pontifical instructions throws comparatively little light: it never therefore occurred to me, to enter on a deliberate examination of the point now at issue between you and me. But the case was very different when my professorship came to an end. I then naturally gave my mind, not only to what had hitherto absorbed it, but also to the questions prominently agitated among thoughtful Catholics of the present time. Such questions were—the Pope's civil sovereignty; the true relation between theology and secular science; the degree of private judgment permissible in studying the latter; the various ontologistic, traditionalistic, and other philosophical systems; the so-called “principle of religious liberty”

advocated by Lacordaire and Montalembert. I became aware of the allegation that, on these and many analogous matters, there exists a vast body of infallible teaching put forth by the Church. You will feel quite as strongly as I do, that it was absolutely impossible to begin investigating these various subjects of thought, without previously examining this preliminary question concerning the extent of the Church's infallible authority. I began that investigation however, be it remembered, with the strongest prepossession in favour, not of my present opinion, but of *yours*. Still I felt from the first, that it was my business to put aside all prepossessions or "ideals," and to concentrate my attention on this one issue;—what was the Holy Father's own teaching concerning the extent of his infallibility. To my extreme surprise, I found evidence absolutely irresistible, that he claims that full extent which I now ascribe to him. It is not one whit more certain to my mind that he puts forth such pronouncements *at all*, than that he puts them forth precisely as *infallible*, so far as regards all doctrinal instruction which they may contain. When therefore I found this the case, I had nothing further to do but to accept the claim humbly and unreservedly; and to place these instructions in absolute and unquestioned supremacy over my whole course of thought.

You are most mistaken, I repeat, in supposing that I was led to this opinion by *à priori* prepossessions; for all those prepossessions were violently on the other side. I felt most strongly a difficulty which I have stated in p. 45 of "Doctrinal Decisions";—a difficulty founded on the apparently rhetorical, rather than scientific, character of these Pontifical utterances. Moreover, the particular doctrines which they enforced were in many respects more or less repugnant to my private judgment. As to the last particular indeed, I am bound to say that, in the vast majority of instances, what I first accepted on the simple ground of authority, has now come into deepest harmony with the conclusions of my reason. Still at the time I had to make a very large sacrifice of personal opinion, in accepting these decisions as infallible.

And here I explain easily a circumstance, to which you more than once refer, and on which I have received comments from many whom I deeply respect. "Why," it is asked, "treat a doubtful and difficult theological question, in a Review which 'is to be indiscriminately read?'" Now, in the first place, I do not admit for one moment that the question is *at all* doubtful or difficult, to any one who will look it in the face; or that any second opinion on it is really permitted to the Catholic. But further, was I, or was I not, to admit into the DUBLIN

REVIEW discussions on the Pope's temporal sovereignty? on the relations of sacred and secular science? on the "principle of religious liberty?" What kind of Catholic Review would it be, which should systematically omit all treatment of these subjects? Yet it was absolutely impossible to treat them *at all*, without alleging either that the Church has, or that she has not, put forth certain infallible doctrines concerning them. But had I merely *assumed* that she has, there would have been real ground for the charge of peremptory dogmatism. I cannot imagine then what course was open to me, except that which I actually took. I stated indeed confidently, that there *is* a vast body of infallible teaching on all these matters, and explained where I thought such teaching was to be found; but at the same time I stated, as fully and clearly as I could, the various reasons which *induced* me thus confidently to think.

In illustration of what I have said, I will quote some remarks which I made in January, 1865, and which are reprinted in my volume, pp. 61-2:—

It has been objected, that no important end is gained, while divisions are generated and increased, by obtruding on notice a doubtful and extreme theory. We must profess ourselves quite unable to understand the grounds of this objection. Consider the vast number of politico-religious questions, such as those determined in the "*Mirari vos*;" consider, again, the vast number of philosophical questions, such as those involved in the condemnation of Hermes and of Günther: how enormous is their reach, and how profound their influence! The whole mental attitude of an educated Catholic, towards the Church and towards Rome, is absolutely revolutionized, when he comes round from the contrary opinion to that of regarding her as infallible on such questions. At this moment a great interest is felt, as to providing a higher education for our gentry; and much difference of opinion prevails, on the best method of doing so. But on one point all thinkers must be unanimous; viz., in counting it among the most momentous necessities of our time, that such education should inculcate true doctrine on the extent of the Church's infallibility, whatever they may consider such true doctrine to be. Never was there a controversy which it is less possible to ignore. Certainly, to insist on a doubtful theory as though it were certain, is most unjustifiable and tends to schism; but to treat a closed question as though it were an open one, is no less unjustifiable and tends to heresy.

I pass to another subject. In one or two portions of your pamphlet (*e.g.*, Preface, and also p. 53) you comment on my frequent complaints of having received no argumentative reply to my various articles. Your words will be understood by some to mean—I incline to think they are in some degree intended by *you* to mean—that these complaints of mine have been unreal; that they have been "taunts" (as you call them)

and boastings rather than complaints; and that I shall not be best pleased, now I have *obtained* the reply which I professed to desire. If you do entertain this impression, I assure you it is unfounded. I felt I had much reason for remonstrance. In Jan. 1865 I first stated my general proposition, together with the grounds on which I rested it. From that day onwards—more than two years ago—I have been assailed with invective and contumely: “farrago of nonsense;” “monstrous;” “unheard of;” “savouring of monomania;”—such have been the comments on my allegation. Accordingly I have often enough exclaimed—“Do argue; do tell me what you think and why you think it; but cease from this wearisome, monotonous, unmeaning, declamatory chaunt.” I hail your pamphlet therefore with sincere pleasure, so far as it is occupied with argument and not with personality. I earnestly hope it may turn the attention of more distinguished theologians than you and me, to a matter which (I cannot but think) has been in general less prominently and completely treated, than its fundamental importance deserves.

At the same time, even as regards the argumentative part of your work, I have much reason to complain. I am quite sure your own intentions have been perfectly honest and straightforward; for I well know how greatly adverse prepossessions obscure clearness of perception. But I do say, that if your wish had been to throw dust into your readers’ eyes, you could not have forwarded that end more effectively. My argument throughout, whatever its *force*, has at all events been so simple and intelligible in its *character*, that a child could follow it. The Pope, I have said, has put forth certain pronouncements; and whoever will look at their attendant circumstances with even the slightest and most ordinary attention, will see both that he put them forth as infallible, and that the Episcopate so accepted them. But the Church *possesses* whatever infallibility she *claims*; and hence my conclusion. *In no one instance have you attempted fairly to confront this allegation.* Instead of doing so, you have drawn off your readers’ attention to various perplexed and subtle theological questions: concerning “divine” and “ecclesiastical” faith; “fides quoad objectum,” and “fides quoad obligationem;” and the like. Now this procedure in two different ways throws dust into your readers’ eyes. Firstly and obviously, it tends to divert them from pondering the direct reasons I give for my thesis. Then secondly, the questions on which you descant not only are difficult in themselves, but become in your hands (I must say) far more difficult than they need be. Your readers then, unless put on their guard, will unawares receive the impression that which ever of us two is right, at all events the issue

between us is obscure and uncertain. But if you persuade your readers that it is obscure and uncertain, you obtain your practical end just as successfully, as by persuading them that your own view is the true one. In mere self-defence then, on the present occasion I must entirely decline to follow you along these devious paths. The points you touch have their own interest and importance; and I think I may venture to promise that, unless something happens altogether unforeseen, they shall be all treated in the DUBLIN REVIEW within a year from this time. Still if you will but fairly give your attention to what follows in the present letter, you will admit (I am confident) that they are wholly irrelevant to our present discussion; and that our only concern with them is to warn them off the ground. I shall direct my argument in this letter exclusively to one point; viz., that the Church most unquestionably teaches in substance that doctrine which I advocate. Whatever the value of your objections—and I think their value very small—they are objections, not against the opinions of an individual, but against the teaching of the Church.

I would make a second general comment on your pamphlet, which is closely connected with the first. You judge the Pope's teaching by the dicta of individual theologians; whereas surely every Catholic should on the contrary estimate these dicta by the Pope's teaching. I do not for a moment admit that you rightly *apprehend* those testimonies of theologians, which you thus quote; on the contrary you have paid the penalty of thus exaggerating their authority, by failing to see on which side that authority really stands. But apart from this—even if I could admit that you have rightly understood their drift—I should protest none the less earnestly against the place you assign them. Let me illustrate my meaning by a case not absolutely unparallel. We all know that in time past many theologians held the undefinableness of the Immaculate Conception. Some few priests within my own memory have been of that opinion; and I heard, on apparently good authority, of one who, even at the beginning of December 1854, was firmly convinced God would interpose to prevent the definition. All this was intelligible and legitimate. But now, suppose some unhappy man had gone further than this. Such a man, we may imagine, rested on the dicta of those theologians who denied the definableness of the dogma; and was firmly convinced, on the authority of those dicta, that no real definition had taken place. He did not deny that there was every external appearance of the Pope publishing a definition. Yet on the strength of those theological principles

which he had learned at College, he strenuously maintained that there could be no true definition, because the Church has no *power* of defining the doctrine. I do not accuse you of pursuing a course strictly *parallel* to this imagined case; but I do think there is a certain approximation between the two. Let me suppose for argument's sake, what I cannot for a moment concede, that you have understood rightly the theologians you quote. But my own argument has been—an argument which you do not attempt to encounter—that Pope and bishops have claimed that very infallibility which I ascribe to them. It is for the *Ecclesia Docens*, I suppose, and not for private theologians, to decide the extent of her own infallibility.

You admit however speculatively, that “the Church possesses whatever infallibility she claims” (p. 25). Again (p. 13), you are not a Gallican. And though I think that the Gallican controversy is under present circumstances of very far inferior importance to that on which you and I are now engaged, yet there is some convenience in your not being a Gallican. Our respective arguments will not on that account be different in substance; but they will be much less cumbrous in form. You hold, no less than I do, that whatever decisions of the *Ecclesia Docens* possess infallibility *at all*, they possess that infallibility so soon as the Pope has pronounced them. Lastly, not being a Gallican, you hold (I take for granted) that all doctrinal decisions put forth by the Pope as Universal Teacher, or in other words *ex cathedrâ*,* are infallibly true. These data being granted, we are now inquiring what *are* the doctrinal decisions uttered by the Pope *ex cathedrâ*. And in pursuing this inquiry, I will reverse your own order. I will first consider his formal pronouncement of minor censures; and afterwards his Allocutions, Encyclicals, and other similar utterances. Firstly then I maintain against you, that he speaks *ex cathedrâ*, not only when he condemns this or that tenet as *heretical*, but equally when he brands it with some *minor* censure.

But before beginning my argument, I must correct a very serious misapprehension of my meaning into which you have fallen, and which occupies a very prominent place in your pamphlet. You most strangely consider me (p. 46) to rule it as certain that every proposition, censured at all, is censured

* There is no need of discussing with F. Ryder the question of *fact* which he raises in p. 45 on the more common sense of this phrase. I shall consistently use it in the above-given sense.

as *false*. No doubt, I hold this opinion myself;* agreeing as I do with the whole of Dr. Murray's argument on the subject (vol. iii. p. 229). But I have always been well aware that the question is thoroughly open; and I really doubt if I have ever expressed on any former occasion so much as the opinion which I have just given. Certainly I have not expressed it in the passage you cite at p. 46: for "unsound" is undeniably a species of the genus "untrue;" and a proposition which should have been censured for any other reason than that of being "untrue," most assuredly could not have been condemned as "unsound." The question, in fact, has no bearing on any conclusion which I have ever desired to recommend; nor am I keen for any other doctrine on the subject, except only for this, that the Church is infallible in her minor censures. This doctrine you deny (p. 52); you deny that "the proposition infallibly merits the censure attached to it." And here is the first question on which we are to join issue. You hold that the Church is infallible indeed, in affixing the particular brand of "erroneous;" but not in pronouncing any of the other minor censures.

How any one, with Catholic theology or even Catholic literature before him, can doubt the Church's infallibility in all her minor censures, I am simply at a loss to understand: for that infallibility appears to me absolutely undeniable, according to the most elementary principles of Catholicism. You may possibly indeed object, that the Church has never expressly defined it: but neither has she expressly defined her infallibility in *definitions of faith*; and yet you will yourself admit that he who doubts that infallibility is no Catholic at all. As to definitions of faith, I suppose you would speak much as I should. The Church Catholic, you would say, by divine promise sedulously and incorruptly guards the Faith against every assault, both in her formal and her practical teaching; and all her children are to look on her as their one infallible guide to religious truth. This was taught in substance from the first as *de fide*. As time proceeded, the Ecclesia Docens began to employ much intellectual analysis, both in defining her doctrine and in formulizing the heresies which she condemned; and it was involved in the very idea of her infallibility, that if she *did* define, these definitions were infallible. An individual bishop might make a mistake in some doctrinal decree addressed to his diocese; but then an appeal lay from him to the

* I need hardly explain that there is a vast difference between a proposition being *censured* on the one hand, and its expression being *prohibited* on the other hand.

Holy See. An "irreformable" was an "infallible" definition ; and the Church could not err in those decisions which were final and supreme. By the very fact therefore of putting forth a definition of Faith, the Church implicitly defined her infallibility in that definition.

But surely the whole of this argument applies with equal force to minor censures also. The Council of Constance was perhaps the first prominent instance of their use. "This sacrosanct Synod of Constance declares and defines that the following propositions are not Catholic nor to be asserted as such, but that many of them are erroneous, others scandalous, others offensive to pious ears, &c."* Here, as you will fully admit, is the decree of an Ecumenical Council acting conciliarly, and a decree confirmed by the Pope. Looking at the mere form, it is not too much to say that the Pope by sanctioning this solemn declaration would have directly led the whole Church into error, had he intended to claim for it a less peremptory authority, than for those definitions of Faith which earlier Councils had so constantly put forth. And looking at the substance, it is plainly involved in the very principle of infallibility, that if the Church issues such a definition *at all*, she must issue it *infallibly*. In this decree, just as in those of Nicæa or Ephesus, by the fact of defining at all, the Church implicitly defines her infallibility in such definition.

In real truth, I find it simply impossible to apprehend your point of view. You admit that the Pope is infallible, whenever he speaks as Universal Teacher ; as successor to S. Peter in his office of instructing the Christian flock. Well : he puts out some pronouncement, according to the Papal custom, in which he appeals to the duty incumbent on him, as S. Peter's successor, of preserving doctrinal purity in the Church. In performance of that duty, he adds, as inheritor of S. Peter's unfailling faith, and after taking due counsel, he pronounces certain tenets to deserve certain censures. It is your distinct contention, that he does not put forth such an utterance in his capacity of Universal Teacher. Is there a Catholic priest, nay, is there an instructed Catholic layman, in the world, who will not marvel at your even raising such a question ?

However, to drive the matter still more closely home, I will take two samples in particular, representing two different classes of decision : the Bull "Unigenitus" and the Bull "Auctorem Fidei." The former pronounces its censures "in

* Quoted by Dr. Murray, vol. iii. p. 239.

globo"; *i. e.* without specifying which censure is meant for which proposition: whereas the "Auctorem Fidei" brands each several proposition with its appropriate note or notes. The "Unigenitus" speaks thus:—"We [Clement XI.] *command all Christ's faithful*, of either sex, that they do not presume to *think*, teach, preach concerning these propositions, otherwise than is contained in this same Our Constitution." The "Auctorem Fidei" thus:—"We [Pius VI.] *command all Christians*, of either sex, that they presume not to *think*; teach, preach concerning the said propositions and doctrines, contrariwise to what is declared in this Our Constitution."* When a Pope strictly forbids all Catholics to *think* otherwise than after a certain fashion, in what imaginable capacity can he be speaking, except in that of Universal Teacher?

And here I shall defend a statement of mine, which greatly offends you. When the Pope strictly commands all the faithful to think in one particular way, it is surely more like a Catholic truism than like an anti-Catholic paradox, to say that any one materially commits mortal sin who, well knowing that command, "presumes" to disobey it. I say "materially": because I must repeat, though (p. 14) you seem to think I inflict "ignominy" on you by the statement, that invincible ignorance of the obligation is no doubt abundantly possible.

Next let us see how this Bull "Unigenitus" was accepted by the Church. On this I have spoken in my Preface, pp. xxi., xxii. "It was acknowledged," say the Würzburg theologians, "and proclaimed as a *dogmatical definition* by all the *Supreme Pontiffs* who followed Clement XI.; by the Synods of Rome, of Avignon, and of Embrun; by the French bishops in various assemblies and pastorals; by the *metropolitans of the Catholic world with the express or tacit consent of their suffragans*." The Council of Embrun said, it "is the dogmatic, definitive, and irretractable judgment of that Church," against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. "If any one does not assent to it *in heart and mind*, let him be accounted among those *who have made shipwreck concerning the Faith*." I submit that the phrase "have made shipwreck concerning the Faith," is at least as strong as the phrase "have materially committed mortal sin."

Further, as I pointed out in p. xxiv., you are landed by your view in a direct self-contradiction concerning all those

* F. Ryder has not remembered these Papal commands; for he says (p. 52) that "the duty of interior absolute assent is not expressly stated" in any such censures.

Pontifical utterances—such as the condemnations of Luther, Baius, Molinos, Quesnel—in which the censures are “in globo,” and in which the brand of “heretical” is included. Since the Pope condemns certain tenets as heretical, you must admit that some part of his pronouncement is *ex cathedrâ*. But there is *no single tenet which can be named*, of which you can say that it has been condemned by him as heretical or as “erroneous”; consequently *no* part of the pronouncement can be received by you as *ex cathedrâ*.

In one word, you will not yourself (I really expect) on reflection deny, that the condemnation of Baius and of Quesnel (not to dwell on the other two) were pronounced by the Pope in his capacity of Universal Teacher. But you admit him to be infallible wherever he speaks as Universal Teacher; and you must admit him therefore to be infallible where he pronounces minor censures.

I have not here adduced any argument, which had not been brought forward in substance, either by Dr. Murray or myself, before your pamphlet was written; and on receiving the latter, I was really curious to see what would be your line of answer. For what I found I was certainly not prepared; viz., that you should attempt no kind of answer at all. Yet such is the case. You seem really to think that the Pope has nothing to tell us on the extent of his own infallibility; that he has left us to work out conclusions for ourselves on the subject, by means of our own precarious inferences from the incidental dicta of theologians. It is really no exaggeration to say, either that you appeal to these against Pope and bishops; or even that you ignore the latter altogether. This is the accusation which I brought against you at starting; and of which our readers I think will now see that it was well deserved.

It would be strange however, if approved theologians *did* run counter to what the Church so plainly teaches. I will carefully consider in the DUBLIN REVIEW all your theological quotations without exception; but my present business is merely to show, that they give you no help whatever in the present controversy. Lugo says (see Doct. Dec., p. 28) that theologians in general teach the Church’s infallibility in minor censures; that some regard a denial of that infallibility as heretical, and others (of whom he is one) as erroneous or bordering thereon. It is very obvious then at once, that the overwhelming preponderance of theological authority is on my side. But this is by no means all. You admit yourself (p. 52) that “the schola seems agreed in condemning, as at least proximate to error, the denial that any of the condemned propositions merit the censure which the Church attaches to

them": though you draw a curious distinction between non-denial and "absolute interior assent." Then consider this. Your proposition is most simple and definite; viz., that the Church is fallible in most of her minor censures: and it is a simple fact, that you have not adduced one single theologian, great or small, approved or otherwise, who has stated in so many words this most easily expressed proposition. In note B, you accumulate the strongest theological evidence you can find in your favour, from writers *who are speaking directly on the point at issue*; and every one of your passages implies that very doctrine of infallibility, for which I am contending. The only writer who can be mistaken for an exception, is Pallavicini; and he is rightly explained by yourself (p. 48) as meaning—not that the Church is fallible in such censures—but that they do not necessarily imply *falsehood* in the condemned proposition. At last, however, my chief point is this. Any theologian who upheld the Church's fallibility in minor censures, must maintain (as we have seen) that the Pope is not speaking as Universal Teacher, when he directly issues a decree commanding all the faithful to think in some particular way; and that neither Baius nor Quesnel has been infallibly condemned at all. You will not on reflection, I am very confident, allege that any one of your authorities held such a view; and indeed I shall be somewhat surprised if you do not yourself abandon it.

That the Church then is infallible in those minor censures which she definitely and solemnly pronounces, is so absolutely certain, that I am quite unable to understand how any Catholic can possibly call it in question. I next proceed to the doctrinal decisions contained in Allocutions, Encyclicals, and other Apostolic Letters. And I beg our readers to observe in limine this most significant fact, that you have adduced no general argument whatever against the infallibility of these decisions, which would not equally tell against what is so absolutely undeniable; viz., the infallibility of definitely expressed censures. My own writings in the DUBLIN REVIEW have been far more addressed to the position on which we are now entering than to the other: precisely because the other was so very clear, while the "Encyclical" question seemed to need much illustration and exposition. My method of procedure however has been in both cases precisely the same. I have laboured for one and one only end—viz., to ascertain what is the Pope's own teaching on the authority of his own instructions. From p. 46 to p. 48 of my volume on "Doctrinal Decisions," I give briefly more than one proof that he claims for them infallibility; and you

have attempted no reply whatever. I cannot abridge these pages, and can only therefore beg my readers to examine and ponder them. I entered at length however on two particular utterances, which I took as representative instances: these were (1) the "Mirari vos," and (2) the "Quantâ curâ," with its appended Syllabus. If these were infallible in their doctrinal instruction, you will yourself admit that similar pronouncements possess the same infallibility. Let me here then briefly go over the ground, which is treated at much greater length in my volume itself. And first on the "Mirari vos."

When Lamennais came into collision with the French bishops, each party avowedly sought an *infallible* decision; and the Pope, on issuing the Encyclical, declared through Cardinal Pacca that he had acceded to this double request. He declared at once then, that he had published the "Mirari vos" as an *infallible* decision (pp. 55-6). Lamennais, without a moment's delay, promised obedience to the Pope's command of silence; but he ominously avoided all reference to accepting the Pope's *doctrine* with interior assent. At this (p. 57), general distrust and discontent were excited, and Catholics compared his conduct to the "respectful silence" of Jansenistic heretics. The Holy Father echoed this distrust. He declared at once expressly (pp. 57-8), that he had passed his judgment on Lamennais' errors *in his capacity of successor to S. Peter's infallibility*; that the judgment was intended *to teach all the children of the Church*; and that the doctrine thus delivered, derived as it was from Scripture and Tradition, is that *which alone it is lawful to follow*. Words cannot surely be imagined which would more distinctly express, that he had issued the "Mirari vos" in his capacity of Universal Teacher. Gregory XVI. then expressed his grief at the sinister reports in circulation, and prayed that God would give Lamennais a docile heart. The latter at once replied, that his obedience had been complete; but the Pope rejoined that, not external obedience only, but *interior assent* was required (p. 59). Soon afterwards, Cardinal Pacca wrote by the Pope's command, declaring (p. 60) that the decision had come from "Peter's infallible mouth," and that "unreserved and unequivocal *adhesion*" was required "to the *doctrine* of the Encyclical." I say then, neither you nor any one else—be he Catholic, Protestant, or infidel—can possibly deny that the Pope put forth, in every variety of shape, a claim of infallibility for the "Mirari vos."

To all this I can find but two replies in your pamphlet; and I know not which is the less satisfactory. Firstly you say (p. 16), that a certain theologian whom you name "warns us

against considering that even the circumstance of the contending parties demanding an infallible pronouncement on a point of doctrine, and the Pope apparently acceding to them, is a sufficient ground for presuming the pronouncement infallible." We had better however be quite accurate in our facts. The Pope did not "*apparently*" accede to the request; he wrote at once by Cardinal Pacca, *saying* expressly that he had acceded to it. Now let me suppose some unwise theologian *had* said, that such a fact is not conclusive of the Pope's intention: which would you believe as to the Pope's intention, some theologian or the Pope himself? Your tendency throughout seems really to the former alternative. However, take a concrete case. Let us suppose that you or I had been censured by the Pope, and had received, in company with this censure, a letter written by the Pope's command, to explain that he had issued the censure as "a solemn decision from the infallible mouth of S. Peter's successor." We refuse however to believe the Pope's own word on his own intention, because we have hunted up some private theologian, who seems to bear us out in such misbelief. Tell me frankly what would be your own opinion on such an hypothetical case.

At the same time the supposition does seem so improbable of any theologian having uttered this strange opinion, that I turned with eagerness to the passage; which you have printed with great candour in extenso, pp. 73-4. I could find however no statement even distantly resembling that which you allege; and am indeed somewhat uncertain, which of the theologian's sentences you had in your mind. I suppose however it must be that from p. 222; where he says that it depends on the Pope, and not on those who consult the Pope, whether on any given occasion the Pope shall exercise his prerogative of infallibility. But who in the world ever doubted this? Certainly not I. Or what has it to do with the point before us? Nothing whatever. I must be allowed to add, that so considerable a misapprehension of a very plain passage shows how impossible it is for inquirers to accept your statement on the views of any theologian, till they have carefully examined his text for themselves.

I know not why, but somehow you seem to think that your objection derives peculiar force, from the fact of this theologian having afterwards become Pope Gregory XVI. But so far as this fact has any weight at all, surely it rather tells against you, by neutralizing the alleged authority of that one theologian on whom you rely. You think that, before he was Pope, he would have doubted the infallibility of such an utterance as the "*Mirari vos*"; but you cannot deny that, *after* he was Pope,

his opinion was extremely strong on the opposite side. If therefore he had once held the opinion you ascribe to him—a most mistaken supposition—at all events he emphatically retracted that opinion, when his authority was far greater, and his means of judgment far more extensive.

From page 15 to page 19 you speak with much less clearness and precision than I could wish; yet you say enough to show how vast is the gulf between Gregory XVI.'s view of an Encyclical and yours. You hold *e.g.* (p. 17) that the Pope in "speaking his mind on doctrinal subjects *to the Church*" does not therefore "impose the *burden* (!) of absolute interior assent upon the consciences of the faithful." Gregory XVI., at all events, "imposed that burden" very peremptorily. "There is no proof," you say (p. 19), that "Encyclicals are intended to do more than throw the weight of the Holy See *for the time* into the opposite scale." But Gregory XVI. announced that he had spoken in S. Peter's name, "*whose faith resists all errors*" (p. 57): that he had "opportunistically taught *all the children of the Church*" the lessons of "Scripture and Tradition"; or, in other words, that he had spoken as Universal Teacher: he required moreover of the offender (p. 58) a declaration, that he *firmly and solidly holds* and professes the doctrine of the Encyclical. Lastly you object (p. 18), in somewhat singularly chosen language, to a Papal instruction "being rammed down your throat with many exhortations to full interior assent, by the Christian courtesy of an orthodox Reviewer." But this is precisely what was done to Lamennais by the Catholic Church in France, with the Pope's subsequent warmest approval and sanction.

Your second objection to my argument exhibits a degree of carelessness which, on so grave a matter, will certainly surprise my readers. You allege (p. 17) that Sixtus V. uttered an Allocution, in which he appealed to Peter's indefectible faith; but of which nevertheless Benedict XIV. considers that he uttered it as a private doctor. Your error is, of course, quite unintentional, but your statement is totally inaccurate in the only relevant particular. To begin with a small thing, it was not an "Allocution" but a "*concio*"; the former word being your own most gratuitous introduction. But now for the substance of the matter. Sixtus V. directed his "*concio*" to the thesis, that it is heretical to deny a Pope's infallibility in canonizing Saints; and he adduced "Peter's indefectible faith" as an argument—not at all for his own authority in the address he was then delivering,—but exclusively in support of the thesis which he was maintaining. As to his own (Sixtus's) inherited infallibility inflowing into the "*concio*" which he

was then delivering—there is not the remotest hint of any such implication. You have simply made a very serious mistake, from which the slightest care would have preserved you. So far was I moreover from having been ignorant of Benedict XIV.'s dictum, that I expressly drew attention to it last October (p. 518). I may add, that if you will read the whole of that notice (pp. 515-519) you will see that of all adducible writers Benedict XIV. is among the least likely to give you any assistance in depreciating the infallible authority of Pontifical utterances.

I do not myself then see, how it is more historically clear that the definitions of Ephesus or Chalcedon were put forth as infallible, than that the "Mirari vos" was so put forth. And I am sure you will readily admit, that it is a very fair representative of the class on which our controversy turns. "No human being," I said in my volume (p. 45), "will admit the doctrinal infallibility of this Encyclical, while he hesitates in attributing the same quality to that whole class of Papal decrees which it represents."

I next proceed to the "Quantâ curâ," with its appended Syllabus. In this case I will begin by considering the voice of the Episcopate. The Cardinal Vicar of Rome shall take the lead; addressing as he did the Catholics of Pius IX.'s own diocese, by his express sanction and under his very eye (see p. 77 of my volume). He is speaking of the Encyclical and Syllabus, and of nothing else whatever. It is "the very word of God," he says; "he who listens not to" the Pope speaking therein, "declares himself as no longer appertaining to the Church . . . and as *no longer having a right to the eternal inheritance of heaven.*" The French bishops in like manner vied with each other, which should most emphatically express the infallible character of this pronouncement. I quote their words from p. 86 to p. 91. It is to be "the rule of the belief" of the faithful; to "contradict" it, would be "the sacrifice of eternal salvation," because "to Peter alone and his successors it has been promised that they should never teach error." We must regard it as "infallible in doctrinal matters, unless we would renounce our title of Catholics": it is an "infallible teaching which binds every Christian conscience": it is to be received "with the most perfect submission," "as a symbol, as a credo": it is an "oracle which must be listened to and believed": it is a "Rule of Faith which every Catholic is bound to accept": it contains "the instructions of him whose faith cannot fail": "it is a dogmatic and moral bull *ex cathedrâ*, emanating from him who has received the full and entire mission of teaching the Universal Church": it is "like the

Bull Unigenitus," "a Rule of Faith from which no one could deviate without ceasing to be a Catholic."

There is much which astonishes me in your pamphlet; but there is nothing which astonishes me more, than your treatment of these most express testimonies. "The fact," you say (p. 26), "that the French bishops speak of their doctrine as the ordinary teaching of the Catechism, *instead of making for Dr. Ward*, goes far to show that they and he are not considering the same question." What question in the world then *were* they considering? You give us no hint of your answer; and I challenge you, in the face of the public, even to suggest any imaginable interpretation of their words, except that which they obviously bear. It may be worth while to add, that there is but one in their number who uses the particular phrase about "the ordinary teaching of the Catechism." At the same time I know of no reason why all the rest might not have spoken similarly; except that I suppose the Catechism does not absolutely condemn the Gallican doctrine, which requires Episcopal assent in order to constitute infallibility. That the Syllabus, so soon as the bishops accepted it, became an infallible Rule of Faith, seems to me, as it seemed to the French bishops, involved in the most elementary principles of Catholicism.

It is not the French bishops alone, but those of every country, who have proclaimed this infallibility. Among ourselves the Archbishop and Bishop of Shrewsbury have spoken explicitly; the latter in particular (Doct. Dec., p. 92, note) laying down that to deny such infallibility is a "false refinement" suggested by "the spirit of insubordination." And while multitudes of bishops have spoken thus peremptorily in this sense,—there is none, from one end of the Church to the other, who has so much as publicly hinted a *doubt* of the infallibility in question. You ask indeed (p. 26) why I did not quote from Mgr. Dupanloup's pamphlet: but the answer is very simple. That pamphlet was directed exclusively to the question, not of the Syllabus's *authority*, but of its *meaning*; whereas my quotations referred exclusively to the former, and not at all to the latter. But the Bishop of Orleans by implication threw his whole weight into the same scale with his brethren. For consider the occasion which led him to write. A most exaggerated impression existed in France, and was sedulously promoted by the infidel party, on the effect produced by the Syllabus of placing Catholics in violent opposition to modern law and usage; and the Bishop wrote for the precise purpose of removing this impression. Now in no other way could he half so effectively have removed it, as by avowing *your* opinion, that the Syllabus did not claim to be received as

an infallible utterance. No bishop however would be found avowing such a tenet as yours; and at all events it is most certain, that Mgr. Dupanloup did nothing of the kind. On the contrary, by the very careful explanation which he gave as to the strict *bearing* of each censure in the Syllabus, he most undoubtedly implied that *in* that strict bearing each censure was infallibly just.

You think (p. 54) "that there are very considerable grounds for supposing that the Syllabus is nothing more than an index" to Pius IX.'s briefs, and has in itself no infallible authority. Now a very large number of bishops, from the Cardinal Vicar of Rome downwards, have officially and most emphatically pronounced it infallible; and moreover—the former being a manifest and overt fact—no one bishop has so much as publicly hinted any different view. If therefore this deplorable notion of yours could be maintained, it would follow that the *Ecclesia Docens*—our divinely appointed guide to Catholic Truth—has been banded in one vast conspiracy for the corruption of that Truth.

Now pass, from the circumstances of its reception, to the pronouncement itself. You admit that those doctrinal instructions are infallibly true, which are issued by the Pope in his capacity of Universal Teacher. What possible doubt can there be that the "*Quantâ curâ*" and Syllabus were thus issued? In the "*Quantâ curâ*" the Pope "wills and commands" that the errors censured therein "be thoroughly held *by all children of the Catholic Church* as reprobated, proscribed, and condemned." In the Syllabus he teaches that "all Catholics *ought most firmly to hold*" that doctrine which he had delivered on his civil principedom. In what imaginable capacity can he speak in such declarations as these, except in that of Universal Teacher? (Doc. Dec., p. 74.)

The "*Quantâ curâ*" then is undoubtedly *ex cathedrâ*. What does Pius IX. teach therein concerning his own infallible authority? He teaches (Doc. Dec., p. 72) that the Pope is in the habit of putting forth certain judgments, which do not [directly] touch the dogmata of faith and morals; that interior assent cannot be refused to these judgments without sin,* and without a certain sacrifice of the Catholic profession; and that this obligation of interior assent rests on the Pope's infallibility therein. I have argued, from p. 71 to p. 73, that no other interpretation is possible of the Pontifical words; and you have attempted no reply whatever to my argument. The

* I think it will be pretty universally admitted by competent persons that the word "sin" here signifies "mortal sin."

Pope declares, not only that he *has* this infallibility, but that those who will not ascribe it to him are guilty of "audacity," and of refusing to "endure sound doctrine." And all this has been accepted by the Catholic Episcopate. I must entreat you with all possible earnestness to consider, whether you will continue to hold opinions thus characterized by the Church.

I now make a further assertion, which you consider "wild" (p. 55), but which to me appears on the contrary rather obvious. Read Card. Antonelli's circular letter (Doc. Dec., p. 79) on occasion of the Syllabus. The Syllabus was sent round to all the bishops, in order that they might duly know what errors had already been "reprobated and condemned." It did not profess then to invest those various condemnations with an infallible authority which they had not before possessed, but the reverse. If the Syllabus therefore was infallible—and we have seen how indubitable is the fact—it follows that the earlier condemnations had been infallible also; and consequently, that the various Papal utterances which contained them had been issued *ex cathedrâ*. If you will express your reasons for differing on this head, I will carefully consider them; but no one can reply to the mere epithet "wild."

Here then I close what I had to say on the Encyclical and Syllabus.

I now come to a most singular statement of yours. The chief object of my volume was to claim infallibility, not indeed for mere "*obiter dicta*," but for every *doctrinal decision* contained in Encyclicals and in certain other Papal pronouncements to which I therein refer; while the main object of your pamphlet is to deny that infallibility. I assume therefore that the word "Encyclical," in the following passage, includes the whole class of utterances on which our controversy turns. This being understood, how wonderful is the following sentence!—"The propositions of Encyclicals," you say, "do not enunciate any new truth, or even any logical development of an old truth; but they are fresh enunciations of an old truth, with a special significance in the case of a new emergency" (p. 18). Now consider for a moment the various instructions, which have been published under this form only within the last fifty years. That whole doctrine on the Pope's temporal sovereignty has thus been taught, which he requires "all Catholics to hold most firmly."* The true doctrine concerning

* See what authority the University of Cagliari ascribes as a matter of course to these Allocations and Encyclicals:—"The Sovereign Pontiff has more than once expressly declared that, in the present condition of society, the temporal power of the Holy See is both most useful and even necessary, &c. &c. This pontifical declaration has been accepted with unparalleled

so-called "religious liberty" and liberty of the press. The State's true office in matters which concern religion. The Church's temporal power, whether direct or indirect. (Syllabus, prop. 24.) The true doctrine on exclusive salvation and invincible ignorance. The precise relations between theological and secular science—between the claims of Reason and Revelation. The obligation of obedience to civil rulers. And all this over and above the vast mass of philosophical truth, taught by the condemnation of Hermes, of Günther, of traditionalistic error, and the like. I am quite unable to conjecture with what your thoughts can have been occupied, when you wrote and corrected for press that truly bewildering sentence which I began with quoting.

Further, in regard to all these momentous decisions, you affirm (p. 19) that "there is no proof they are intended to do more, than throw the weight of the Holy See *for the time* into the opposite scale." No proof? Are the Holy Father's repeated and most emphatic words to be accounted by a Catholic no proof of what he *means*? When did he ever say one word about throwing his weight *for the time* into one particular scale? On the contrary, does he not always speak with the most energetic and unsparing severity of the errors which he denounces? What possible right has any Catholic to take for granted, that the Pope does not mean what he most emphatically says, but that he does mean something else of which he gives not the slightest hint? From your pamphlet it would appear that any other key to the Pope's intention seems to you more appropriate, than the obvious one of supposing him to mean just what he says. I know that the best men are often very inconsistent; and nothing can be further from my wish than any kind of personal disrespect. But I really find it far more easy, as a matter of argumentative consistency, to understand a Protestant's position than yours. A Protestant rejects the Pope's authority altogether: while you speculatively accept him indeed as "the teacher of Christians," but then turn aside his teaching from its one obvious drift, in accordance with private unauthorized conceptions. And after this have you still the nerve to accuse *me* of "idealism"; of building up a theory, not on facts, but on *a priori* prepossessions?

Then you speak of his not imposing on you "the burden

unanimity by the whole Catholic Episcopate, from which *the spirit of truth never departs*."—Quoted by F. Herbert Vaughan, in his pamphlet on the French Episcopate, Preface, p. vii.

of absolute interior assent" (p. 17). How can docility to an infallible voice be a *burden*? How can it be otherwise, on the contrary, than a real accession to our intellectual liberty, if a large body of important truth is infallibly pronounced?*

On the case of Galileo I shall not enter here. According to your own view of the facts, that case does not present even a *primâ facie* difficulty in my way; for you consider (p. 56) that there was "no doctrinal pronouncement whatever" in any sense "sanctioned by the Pope against Copernicanism." And there are obvious reasons for adjourning the question; for in the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, there is to be a special investigation of the whole subject by M. de l'Épinois. In October then, or at latest in January, it shall be treated again in the DUBLIN REVIEW.

In conclusion you remark (pp. 62-3), on the evil of mixing up what is certain with what is merely probable. Such remarks can have no bearing on my own conduct; for my contention has been throughout, that the doctrine on infallibility which I advocate is in substance absolutely certain. In fact, this is precisely the point at issue. I maintain, and you deny, that the Church teaches this doctrine as vital and essential. If the Church do *not* teach it as vital and essential, I agree with you most fully that I have been a cruel and mischievous disturber of Christian peace. On the other hand, if she *do* teach it as vital and essential, then you hold as strongly as I do, that we should act faithlessly and treacherously if we sacrificed it in the interests of a spurious liberality. Our business, as you most usefully point out, is not to place before Protestants an "ideal" Catholicism, but that full and definite Catholicism which the Church in fact teaches. Certainly on grounds of reason alone, I recognize deep and superhuman wisdom in what I hold to be the Church's large claim of infallibility; and I consider your own contradictory view to be shallow and unphilosophical. But never have I rested my case prominently on such arguments; nor have I indeed relied on them at all, except in strictest subordination to the paramount inquiry, what is *in fact* the Church's teaching. "In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas"—this is the golden rule which I have ever attempted to follow: only in order to put it into practice, we

* I would beg my readers' attention to some remarks on intellectual liberty, which I made in January 1867, pp. 92-3.

must examine the Church's testimony, as to what things are "necessaria" and what "dubia."

From my point of view then, I have a right to complain of your implying (p. 14) that I wish to erect into substantial barriers "the little party walls of private opinion;" for I have consistently denied from the first that the issue between us is a matter of private opinion at all. And I have a still greater right to complain of another implication in the same passage. You, it appears, perform the noble office of "resisting the enemy without;" to me appertains the ignominious alternative of "flattering the authorities within." Are you then unable to apprehend a loyal and reverential devotion to the Holy Father, which shall be anything else than flattery and servility?

And now to conclude. I am not conscious of having had any other aim on the whole doctrine at issue, except simply to discover and follow the Church's teaching thereon. On hearing of your pamphlet, I expected to find some able arguments against that opinion; and any such arguments I resolved most carefully to examine. In this I have been altogether disappointed; and the very fact of your being unable even to *attempt* a case against me, cannot tend to lessen the strength of my convictions. At last however the ultimate judge is Holy Church. As might have been confidently expected from a loyal priest, you "submit what you have said without reserve to her authority;" and for myself also it is my highest ambition to be taught by her voice. That I may have made various incidental and minor mistakes in treating so large a question, I take for granted; though of course, if I knew definitely what these mistakes are, I should have already corrected them. But should authority decide that my doctrine of infallibility is substantially mistaken—nay, or that the Church does not teach that general doctrine as vital and essential—I should publicly put forth an ample retractation, accompanied with expressions of sincerest regret for the mischief I might have done.

I remain, Rev. dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

W. G. WARD.

LONDON, *May* 13, 1867.

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